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COLONIZATION.

THE object of the following pages is to lead the reader to a calm and thorough review of the subject of colonization. Perhaps he thinks it sufficiently discussed already; but where the interests of millions are at stake, it becomes us carefully to examine, and often to reexamine, the foundations of our opinions,—the friends of Truth will never be afraid to do this.

Let us first look at colonization in general—the idea, doctrine, theory, that it would be better for both the whites and blacks of our country, were the latter to be transplanted into a separate community.—Why better? Is there not room enough here for both? Yes. Is there not work enough for both? Yes. Is not colonization *from* our country reversing the order of nature? Yes. The demand for labor among us is *drawing in* laborers, by right or by wrong, from all parts of the old world. Strong, then, must be the reasons to justify us in *sending out* our own native laborers to the old world or elsewhere. If we have any surplus population, it must be of merchants, lawyers, physicians, divines—and surely not of what is called the laboring class, to which all, or nearly all, the colored people belong—of this class there cannot be a surplus for a hundred years to come. The influx of foreign laborers into our country shows, as clearly as running water shows downhill, that ours is the country of all the world, where labor gets, or is supposed to get, the best reward,—and that laboring people are better off here than elsewhere. Why send any away? Some profess to find a reason in the prejudice and oppression of which the blacks are the victims. It is because the colored man must here be always enslaved, or in a condition but little better than slavery. Because he must be an outcast from our free institutions, from our national sympathies, from our social relations. Because here he must be taught at elections,—in schools and colleges,—in stages and steam-

boats,—in the house of man, and in the house of God,—that he belongs to an inferior race,—that he cannot, must not, shall not, rise to the level of the whites.—We implore the reader to stop and think. Is there any *must*—any necessity—in any of these things?

When was human prejudice embalmed, eternized, and stamped with immutability? The prejudices of one man can be changed; the prejudices of thousands, on this very subject, have been—what shall hinder the change of millions? When was the overthrow of this prejudice by truth and reason fairly attempted, and where is the failure recorded? The invincibility of prejudice should have been clearly ascertained, and evinced by incontrovertible proofs, before it was proposed to expatriate millions on account of it. It ought to have been perceived by the founders of the colonization enterprise, that their remedy was one of last resort, desperate in its nature—one which could not be carried into effect without great danger of enhancing the disease. Indeed, it would seem to be hardly possible to propose the removal of a certain class beyond the reach of a prejudice, without increasing, by this very act, the prejudice which is thus deferred to and humored. Yet we find the American Colonization Society have actually *taken this point for granted*. In their Fifteenth Annual Report, the Managers say, “Causes *beyond the control of the human will* must prevent their ever rising to equality with the whites.”—“The Managers consider it clear, that causes exist, and are operating, to prevent their improvement and elevation to any considerable extent, as a class, in this country, which are fixed, not only beyond the control of the friends of humanity, BUT OF ANY HUMAN POWER. Christianity cannot do for them here, what it will do for them in Africa. This is not the fault of the colored man, nor of the white man, nor of Christianity; BUT AN ORDINATION OF PROVIDENCE, and no more to be changed than the laws of nature. Yet, were it otherwise,—did no cause exist but prejudice, to prevent the elevation, in this country, of our free colored population, still, were this prejudice so strong (which is indeed the fact) as to forbid the hope of any great favorable change in their condition, what folly for them to reject blessings in another land, because it is prejudice that debars them from such blessings in this! But in truth no legislation, no humanity, no benevolence, can make them insensible to their past condition, can unfetter their minds, can relieve them from the disadvantages resulting from inferior means and attainments, can abridge the right of freemen to regulate their social intercourse and

"relations, which will leave them for ever a separate and depressed class in the community; in fine, nothing can in any way do much here to raise them from their miseries to respectability, honor, and usefulness." We think all will agree that the Colonization Managers here *assume* the invincibility of prejudice. They present no proof, nor do we find elsewhere any attempt to present proof. The very fact that *such* men have *assumed* a position so vitally important to their cause, shows that they did not find it susceptible of proof—and yet it is very far from being self-evident. We appeal to stubborn facts to show that it is altogether false. Thousands of our fellow-citizens have been cured of this prejudice, and are sincerely wishing that their colored brethren should dwell in the land on equal terms with themselves. And on the other hand, there are not a few colored men who *have risen*, in spite of all opposition—call it "ordination of Providence," or what you will—in all substantial enjoyments, in mind and morals, in things outward and inward, *ABOVE the average level of the whites*. How often have we heard it said of such and such a man (whose name it would be invidious to mention), "*he would be a governor in Liberia*." Hence we conclude that prejudice is no good reason for colonizing, because prejudice is vincible, and ought to be conquered.

Some find a reason for colonizing, in the *hope* that the opportunity of putting their slaves where they can fully enjoy their liberty, without disturbing the whites, will induce slaveholders to emancipate. This must be a very poor reason, for shrewd slaveholders have advocated colonization precisely because they hoped thereby to get rid of the disturbing force of the free blacks, and hold their slaves in greater security. It will be easy to quote many examples of this, but one will abundantly suffice, and it is given at some length because it furnishes much matter for reflection. It is from the speech of the Hon. Mr. Archer of Virginia, before the American Colonization Society in 1830, and is published with the Society's Fifteenth Annual Report.

"Mr. Archer said he was not one of those (however desirable it might be and was, in abstract speculation) who looked to the complete removal of slavery from among us. If that "consummation devoutly to be wished," were to be considered feasible at all, it was at a period too remote to warrant the expenditure of any resources of contemplation or contribution now. But a great benefit, short of this, was within reach, and made part of the scope of operation, of the plan of the Society. The progress of slavery was subjected to the action of a law, of the utmost regularity of action. Where this progress was neither stayed, nor modified by causes of collateral operation, it hastened, with a frightful rapidity, disproportioned, entirely, to

the ordinary law of the advancement of population, to its catastrophe, which was repletion. If none were drained away, slaves became, except under peculiar circumstances of climate and production, inevitably and speedily redundant, first to the occasions of profitable employment, and as a consequence, to the faculty of comfortable provision for them. No matter what the humanity of the owners, fixed restriction on their resources must transfer itself to the comfort, and then the subsistence, of the slave. At this last stage, the evil in this form had to stop. To this stage (from the disproportioned rate of multiplication of the slaves—double that of the owners in this country), it was obliged, though at different periods, in different circumstances, to come. When this stage had been reached, what course or remedy remained? Was open butchery to be resorted to, as among the Spartans with the Helots? or general emancipation and incorporation, as in South America? or abandonment of the country by the masters, as must come to be the case in the West Indies? Either of these was a deplorable catastrophe. Could all of them be avoided? and if they could, how? There was but one way, but that might be made effectual, fortunately. It was to provide and keep open a DRAIN for the excess of increase beyond the occasions of profitable employment. This might be done effectually by extension of the plan of the Society. The drain was already opened. All that was necessary would be, to provide for the enlargement of the channel, as occasion might demand."

We are clearly taught by this passage how colonization may act for the security of slavery—how it may come in as a partner of the internal slave-trade, just to form a necessary *safety-valve* for the great system of oppression. The neighborhood of free blacks is dreaded by slaveholders, far more than the excess of slaves. This is abundantly asserted by Mr. Archer in the same speech. He says that "*a necessary and obvious policy restrained the intermixture of the several castes in occupation.*" Can any thing, then, be plainer than that slaveholders might if they would, avail themselves of colonization to promote their own purpose—the perpetuation of slavery? But, if we carry the reader with us in our next point, which is indeed the main one, it will be of little consequence whether he believes that colonization will strengthen slavery or remove it. An honest man will abjure a bad means, however good the end.

The fundamental question on this subject is, *whether a scheme of colonization can, with any motives and in any manner, be prosecuted, without enhancing, both in the colonists and the colored people who remain, that sense of wrong which our oppression has implanted within them.* A good man would hardly think it right to confer what he considered a benefit, if the beneficiary must necessarily consider it an injury. Suppose the blacks colonized into an earthly paradise, still

would they not ask, Was it kindness, or, was it pride and scorn which cast us out of free America? And the inevitable reply would be, 'No thanks to white Americans; they hated and despised us; the benevolence of the best of them was heartless,—basely mixed with prejudice.' And if such would be the feelings of the colonists, much more of the mass of colored people left among us. 'The very scheme,' they would say, 'is an insult to us.' We appeal to every person's observation of human nature. Who ever heard of a man calmly acknowledging the benevolence of his neighbors in removing him, or proposing his removal, as a nuisance? The keenest sense of injury we recollect ever to have seen expressed, was that of a poor family who had been *warned out of town*, that is, upon whom the constable had served a notice which prevented them from gaining a residence in a place where they had lately settled, lest they should become a town charge. "Is a man to be insulted because he is poor?" bitterly exclaimed the man suspected of a tendency to pauperism, and while his wife with abundant tears scolded the constable, and his children flew at him with instinctive rage, he went on to curse the whole list of the civil authority, by name, for a set of cruel, canting, cheating hypocrites. When we placed ourself for a moment in his stead, we did not much wonder at his feelings. We think the reader will not find it difficult to call up even more striking illustrations of the principle. Let us place ourselves in the colored man's stead, and see if we can understand and appreciate colonization benevolence. Here is a man who professes to be my friend. He says, I can never rise here—he is sorry for it—but there is no help—if I stay I must be an outcast. He sincerely wishes my good, and to place me beyond the reach of this cruel prejudice and scorn, he will give some hundreds of dollars out of his tens of thousands. Is he the enemy of this prejudice? Why does he not live and act against it? Does he sympathize with me against a cruel public? Why does he not come and bear with me a share of this scorn? Does he think the whites wrong me? Why does he sacrifice my feelings to keep their respect? He says he wishes me happy. Why does he not wish to see me happy? He says he is benevolent. Does benevolence love to put its objects out of sight? True, he has given his money; and so he would give his money to get rid of a gang of wolves, and perhaps he would profess himself a great friend of theirs, if thus he could get their consent to enter his traps. I am afraid of his generosity.

We have lately met with an illustration so happy and so pat to our

purpose, that, at the risk of a little digression, we introduce it here. At a late Fair for the Blind, in the city of New York, the following touching lines were found, addressed to a well known abolitionist.

Oh! while the beaming eyes are spared,
That sparkle round thy board,
Remember these poor *sightless* ones,
The stricken of the LORD.

Sweet charity hath round thee cast
A mantle rich and wide;
And all that shrink from sorrow's blast
Find shelter by thy side.

Oh, may the SAVIOUR's course on earth
Thy bright example be!
He who would "loose the captive's chain,"
Should cause the "*blind to see*."

How appropriate! "*Find shelter by thy side!*" The oppressed always find shelter *by the side* of "CHARITY." But could this have been said to a colonizationist? Does the despised and persecuted colored man find shelter by *his* side? Does he place him *by his side* at his table; *by his side* in church; *by his side* as he passes through the street? Does *he* do any thing, or give any thing, or risk any thing, that the colored man may dwell in peace *by his side*? The colonizationist may persuade himself and other white men, that "sweet charity" requires him to send the colored people a thousand leagues from *his side*, but can he persuade the colored people themselves? Never, till the laws of human nature are changed. Now, if it is the object of benevolence to spread *good will* among men, to make *peace* on earth, to allay jealousies, and bickerings, and heart-burnings, surely that must be a mistaken benevolence which cannot but implant ill-will, and jealousy, and hatred,—that must be a perverted benevolence which cannot but brand a sense of common injury upon millions.

For confirmation of the view taken from the first principles of human nature, we appeal to the actual history of the American Colonization Society. For many years that Society met with no active opposition among the whites. (We except of course some slaveholders, who misunderstood its object.) But by the blacks it has been opposed from the first. The mass of them have regarded the very existence of the society as an insult—the very promulgation of its scheme, as an act of hostility. A few, yielding to persecution, or the prospect of personal advantage, have fallen in with the plan—and it is possible that

some, ignorant of its grounds, have been persuaded to regard the scheme as benevolent—but all such have been looked upon by the mass of their brethren, and especially by the more intelligent, as little better than traitors. A white man first publicly denounced the Colonization Society in 1830, and his experience is worthy to be profoundly studied. In our apprehension, it demonstrates, that the Colonization Society had actually driven the colored people to the borders of despair. The people in a ship do not load with blessings the man who throws them a rope, unless they feel some danger of sinking. Mr. Garrison had suffered as an advocate for freedom and was doubtless dear to many colored as well as some white men; but when he opened his lips against the Colonization Society, then it was that from every city and village, from one end of the land to the other, he was hailed as an angel of mercy. A shout went up as if the Liberator had been the LIFE BOAT of the whole colored race, and Mr. Garrison stepped into a popularity, which, as matters were fifteen years before, would have cost him a life's labor. Some Colonizationists have replied to the multitudinous testimonials of approbation which poured in upon Mr. Garrison from all quarters, that *he got them up himself*, not to say that this is attributing to him powers greater than mortal ever wielded, the candid reader will see that it is more than overthrown by a reference to the proceedings of the colored people of Philadelphia in 1817. The Colonization Society had just then come into existence, and the question whether it should be regarded as a friend, was to be disposed of by one of the largest and most intelligent assemblies of colored people that could any where be brought together. The spontaneous and unanimous voice of more than three thousand of them was embodied in the following resolutions.

“Whereas, our ancestors (not of choice) were the first successful cultivators of the wilds of America, we their descendants feel ourselves entitled to participate in the blessings of her luxuriant soil, which their blood and sweat manured; and that any measure or system of measures, having a tendency to banish us from her bosom, would not only be cruel, but would be in direct violation of those principles which have been the boast of this republic.

“*Resolved*, That we view with deep abhorrence the unmerited stigma attempted to be cast upon the reputation of the free people of color, by the promoters of this measure, ‘that they are a dangerous and useless part of the community,’ when in the state of disfranchisement, in which they live, in the hour of danger they ceased to remember their wrongs, and rallied round the standard of their country.

“*Resolved*, That we will never separate ourselves from the slave population in this country; they are our brethren by the ties of con-

anguinity, of suffering, and of wrong; and we feel that there is more ~~than~~ in suffering privations with them, than fancied advantages for a reason.

"Resolved, That having the strongest confidence in the justice of God, and in the philanthropy of the free states, we cheerfully submit our destinies to the guidance of Him, who suffers not a sparrow to fall without his special Providence."

The same meeting put forth an address "*to the humane and benevolent inhabitants of the city and county of Philadelphia,*" from which we make the following extracts.

"We have no wish to separate from our present homes for any purpose whatever. Contented with our present situation and condition, we are not desirous of increasing their prosperity but by honest efforts, and by the use of those opportunities for their improvement, which the constitution and the laws allow to all. It is, therefore, with painful solicitude and sorrowing regret, we have seen a plan for colonizing the free people of color of the United States, on the coast of Africa.

"We *humbly*, respectfully, and fervently entreat and beseech your disapprobation of the plan of colonization now offered by the "American Society for colonizing the free people of color of the United States." Here, in the city of Philadelphia, where the voice of the suffering sons of Africa was first heard; where was first commenced the work of abolition, on which heaven has smiled, for it could have success only from the great Master; let not a purpose be assisted which will stay the cause of the entire abolition of slavery in the United States, and which may defeat it altogether; which proffers to those who do not ask for them, what it calls *benefits*, but which they consider *injuries*, and which must insure to the multitude, whose prayers can only reach you through us, *misery, sufferings, and perpetual slavery*.

(Signed) "JAMES FORTEN, Chairman,
"RUSSEL PARROTT, Secretary."

Such have been the sentiments uniformly expressed by the colored people, except under the pressure of slavery and expulsory laws. Does any one say that the colored people are not qualified to judge for themselves? Then, God in making them has departed from his usual rule, for He generally makes people abundantly keen to discover their own interests, however blind they may be to the interests of others. Why did He not give us express instructions to take care of all who, we think, cannot take care of themselves? Without such a commission it is dangerous to usurp the prerogative. It deserves to be considered whether this disposition to take care of other people against their wishes, is not founded on the same undervaluing of the rights and dignity of human nature, of which the slaveholder is guilty when he turns man into a chattel.

The testimony of the colony itself is of quite a negative character.

We should of course expect the Colonization Society to be sufficiently ready to obtain and publish the testimony of its colonists to the improvement of their condition ; and on the other hand it is not to be expected that the Society, unless prepared to abandon its enterprise, would permit any adverse testimony to reach us, if it had the means of preventing it. Now if the reader will take the trouble to examine the files of the African Repository, he will find a single address of the colonists to the free people of color in the United States recommending the colony.* And if he reads it attentively he will find that though it professes to come from a committee appointed by "a numerous meeting of the citizens of Monrovia, held at the Court House on the 27th of August, 1827," it savors more of the spirit of a knot of office-holders and town-lot speculators than of the people. We cannot believe that the people of Liberia indulge such a feeling towards their brethren in America as breathes in the following passages. "Tell us ; which is "the white man, who, with a prudent regard to his own character, can "associate with one of you on terms of equality?" "We solicit none "of you to emigrate to this country ; for we know not who among you "prefers rational independence, and the honest respect of his fellow "men, to that mental sloth and careless poverty, which you already "possess, and your children will inherit after you in America. But "if your views and aspirations rise a degree higher," &c.—then come. Mr. James R. Daily, himself a respectable colonist, testified that in 1832 there was "a strong Anti-Colonization party" in the colony. It is worthy of remark, that the Society has relied almost exclusively on the testimony of the Captains of vessels who have touched at the colony, and other individuals whose interests were manifestly involved in its success. Since the attack upon the Society, when the voice of the whole colony should have come forth, peal upon peal, to disabuse the American public of the "slanders of the abolitionists," why has it been silent? Why has the Society had to stand on the defensive, and assert that the discontent of the colonists was partial and confined to a few? And why has it not sustained even this defence by bringing out the voice of the majority? It should be remembered that the colony is to a great extent, dependant upon and under the government of the Society.

Here we might rest the whole question. Colonization is uncalled for by the colored people, and, being so, inflicts upon them an insult and an injury. Hence, we conclude it is *wrong in itself*, and if wrong,

* African Repository, Vol. III, p. 300.

unworthy to be used as the means of good either to America or Africa—either to the bond or the free. *It is due to the feelings and opinions of the colored people, that the plan should be abandoned.*

But with many benevolent advocates of colonization, there is a last resort in the idea that the Society is exerting a missionary influence upon Africa. They lose sight of the wrong done to the colored people here, in the glorious prospect of Christianizing Africa. We will close with a few suggestions on this subject.

None of the persons whom we are addressing will pretend that people who are in abject degradation and ignorance here can be the best missionaries even for Africa. The coast that has been so long cursed by the slave-trade is probably the most difficult missionary field in the world; and the more difficult the field the higher must be the qualifications of the missionaries. But it is supposed that a colony picked from our best colored people, who from their color can better stand the climate, and will less excite the prejudices of the natives, than whites, will be an excellent foundation or fulcrum for missionary operations. It will give the missionaries a resting place, and supplies, and safety; and the natives an attractive example of the happiness of civilization. The advocates of colonization for such a purpose cannot of course derive much support from the history of colonization as exhibited in New England, or Mexico, or South America, or the West Indies, or the Cape of Good Hope, for in all these cases the natives have been the losers. Let us see whether the actual history of Liberia is more favorable to their theory. The colony depends for its subsistence mainly upon its trade with the natives. The very articles of this traffic show what its tendency must be. Says Mr. J. B. Russwurm, Editor of the *Liberia Herald*, in a letter dated Nov. 18, 1829. "Tobacco, Rum, pipes, cloth, iron pots, powder and shot, are considered the *currency* of the country. Nothing can be done without *rum* in trade with the natives, &c." Mr. Ashmun declared that *Rum* was indispensable in trading with the natives. Mr. Gurley, in the *African Repository* for Jan. 1831, says "In the judgment of the most worthy colonists, the native traders would *entirely abandon the colony*, were ardent spirits entirely excluded from its commerce—and that, were it prohibited, it would be offered by slave traders on the coast within a few leagues of the colony—the facilities for introducing it clandestinely are innumerable."

A colony *must* buy the good will of the natives at any price. They will have Rum. Said Mr. Ashmun in 1826, "It may illustrate a trait

"of the African character to observe, that the consideration which moved this chief to accord to the settlers a privilege, which has manifestly led to their permanent establishment at Montserado, and the translation of the country to new masters, was the complement of *half a dozen gallons of Rum, and an equal amount of tobacco.*" Rum has usually formed a part of the consideration paid by the American Colonization Society for the territory it has acquired. We quote from the terms of some of these contracts which may be found in the Society's Eleventh Report.

"4th. The American Colonization Society shall have the right in consideration of *five hundred bars of tobacco, THREE BARRELS OF RUM, five casks of powder, five pieces of long buft, five boxes of pipes, ten guns, five umbrellas, ten iron pots, and ten pairs of shoes,* immediately to enter into possession of the tract of unoccupied land, bounded towards the west by Stockton Creek, and on the north by St. Paul's river, &c."

The Sesters Territory was perpetually leased to the Colonization Society on the 27th Oct., 1825, by King Freeman, "in consideration of *one hogshhead of tobacco, one puncheon of rum, six boxes of pipes,* to be paid and delivered to [him] yearly, every year, the first to commence from the date of these presents," &c.

The natural consequences of such treaties have not been wanting. In its very infancy the colony was involved in a war, in which the Rev. Mr. Ashmun gained great glory by his courage and conduct. His description of one of their battles, we quote at some length, because it capitally illustrates the *christianizing* power of a colony.

"A few musketeers, with E. Johnson at their head, by passing round upon the enemy's flank, served to increase the consternation which was beginning to pervade their unwieldy body. In about twenty minutes after the settlers had taken their stand, the front of the enemy began to recoil. But from the numerous obstructions in their rear, the entire absence of discipline, and the extreme difficulty of giving a reversed motion to so large a body, a small part only of which was directly exposed to danger, and the delay occasioned by the practice of carrying off all the dead and wounded, rendered a retreat for some minutes longer impossible. The very violence employed by those in the front, in their impatience to hasten it, by increasing the confusion, produced an effect opposite to that intended. The Americans,* perceiving their advantage, now regained possession of the western post, and instantly brought the long nine to rake the whole line of the enemy. Imagination can scarcely figure to itself a throng of human beings in a more capital state of exposure to the destructive power of the machinery of modern warfare! Eight hundred men were here pressed shoulder to shoulder, in so compact a form, that a child might easily walk upon their heads from one end of the mass to the other,

* In America they were Africans.—ED.

presenting in their rear a breadth of rank equal to twenty or thirty, and all exposed to a gun of great power, raised on a platform, at only thirty to sixty yards distance! *Every shot literally spent its force in a solid mass of living human flesh!* Their fire suddenly terminated. A savage yell was raised, which filled the dismal forest with a momentary horror. It gradually died away, and the whole host disappeared. At eight o'clock, the well-known signal of their dispersion and return to their homes was sounded, and many small parties were seen at a distance, directly afterwards, moving off in different directions. One large canoe, employed in reconveying a party across the mouth of the Montserado, venturing within the range of the long gun, was struck by a shot, and several men killed."

It is not our purpose to blame the Colonization Society, or Mr. Ashmun, or the colony, for this or any of the subsequent wars with the natives. In the late experiment at Bassa Cove, we are willing to admit that the founders of Edina meant to adhere strictly to the "*peace principle.*" Yet they were attacked by the natives, and felt themselves obliged to retaliate by the destruction of a native town. *The fault lies in the COLONIZING scheme itself.* We do not see how a "new empire" can be built up on the shores of Africa without war—and, if such an empire must be built up by war, we do not see how its building up can possibly aid the conquests of the Prince of PEACE.

Our limits forbid an array of testimony in regard to the actual progress made by means of the colony in evangelizing the natives. It may be found in Jay's Inquiry, pages 59—69. A single passage from a letter of Rev. J. B. Pinney, then a missionary, but since governor of the colony, dated Monrovia, February 20, 1833, will suffice. It has not ceased, and never will cease, to be descriptive of the relation of the colonists to the natives.

"The colonists are very ignorant of every thing about the interior. Except of the tribes along the coast, nothing at all is known; and of them, little but their manner of traffic. Nothing has been done for the natives, hitherto, by the colonists, except to educate a few who were in their families in the capacity of servants. The natives are, as to wealth and intellectual cultivation, related to the colonists, as the negro of America is to the white man; and this fact, added to their mode of dress, which consists of nothing, usually, but a handkerchief around the loins, leads to the same distinction, as exists in America between *colors*. A colonist of any dye (and many there are of a darker hue than the Vey, or Dey, or Kroo, or Bassa) would, if at all respectable, think himself degraded by marrying a native. The natives are in fact *menials* (I mean those in town), and sorry am I to be obliged to say, that from my limited observation, it is evident, that as little effort is made by the colonists to elevate them, as is usually made by the higher classes in the United States to better the condition of the lower."

tree than that. How do they all do up at S.' 'All well,' said I. 'How is Miss Lucy.' 'Well,' said I; 'yes,' said Charles, 'Lucy's well, and sends her respects to you.' Thus they conversed to deceive the Kentuckians. We shot the racoons and went to the house, where H. still pursued his policy of deceiving the Kentuckians.

"He made them believe that Charles and I were bound boys left to him by his father. He said he wouldnt take five hundred dollars apiece for us the rest of the time out. I felt rather awkward in the house, going and coming at the word of my new master where I had never been before. In this way he deceived the slave hunters for fear they might bring me into difficulty. H. told me next morning that if those mean, worthless negro hunters had laid hands on me he would have shivered his gun stock over their heads. Said he 'I don't like to entertain them, but I keep tavern and must entertain all that call and do the best I can.' I was well entertained at his house free of cost, and had my pockets filled with provisions to take with me.— Had no difficulty the rest of the way. Soon planted my feet upon British ground, when my fears left me and my shackles fell!"

DAVID BARRETT.

EXTRACTS FROM MISS MARTINEAU'S "SOCIETY IN AMERICA."

"The personal oppression of the negroes is the grossest vice which strikes a stranger in the country. It can never be otherwise when human beings are wholly subjected to the will of other human beings, who are under no other external control than the law which forbids killing and maiming;—a law which it is difficult to enforce in individual cases. A fine slave was walking about in Columbia, South Carolina, when I was there, nearly helpless and useless from the following causes. His master was fond of him, and the slave enjoyed the rare distinction of never having been flogged. One day, his master's child, supposed to be under his care at the time, fell down and hurt itself. The master flew into a passion, ordered the slave to be instantly flogged, and would not hear a single word the man had to say. As soon as the flogging was over, the slave went into the back yard, where there was an axe and a block, and struck off the upper half of his right hand. He went and held up the bleeding hand before his master, saying,

"You have mortified me, so I have made myself useless. Now you must maintain me as long as I live." It came out that the child had been under the charge of another person.

"There are, as is well known throughout the country, houses in the free States which are open to fugitive slaves, and where they are concealed till the search for them is over. I know some of the secrets of such places; and can mention two cases, among many, of runaways, which show how horrible is the tyranny which the slave system authorises men to inflict on each other. A negro had found his way to one of these friendly houses; and had been so skilfully concealed, that repeated searches by his master, (who followed for the purpose of recovering him,) and by constables, had been in vain. After three weeks of this seclusion, the negro became weary, and entreated of his host to be permitted to look out of the window. His host strongly advised him to keep quiet, as it was pretty certain that his master had not given him up. When the host had left him, however, the negro came out of his hiding-place, and went to the window. He met the eye of his master, who was looking up from the street. The poor slave was obliged to return to his bondage.

A young negress had escaped in like manner; was in like manner concealed; and was alarmed by constables, under the direction of her master, entering the house in pursuit of her, when she had had reason to believe that the search was over. She flew up stairs to her chamber in the third story, and drove a heavy article of furniture against the door. The constables pushed in notwithstanding, and the girl leaped from the window into the paved street. Her master looked at her as she lay, declared she would never be good for anything again, and went back into the south. The poor creature, her body bruised, and her limbs fractured, was taken up, and kindly nursed; and she is now maintained in Boston, in her maimed condition, by the charity of some ladies there."—Vol. II, pages 112—114.

A GLIMPSE AT THE "KIND TREATMENT" OF THE SLAVES.

FIFTY DOLLARS REWARD.—Ran away from Murot's Plantation, near Baton Rouge, about two months ago, the negro man Manuel. Description—black, five feet four inches high, about thirty years old, one scar on the forehead, and much marked with irons.—*New Orleans Bee*, May 27, 1837.

TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS REWARD, for the black woman BETSY, who left my house in Faubourg, McDonough, about the 12th of the present month, when she had on her neck, an iron collar, has a mark on her left cheek, is about twenty years old, five feet four inches high; when she ran away, was well dressed, &c.

CHARLES KERNIN. Parish of Jefferson.

New Orleans Bee, June 9, 1837.

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THE

ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD.

Vol. III. No. VI. JUNE, 1837. Whole No. 30.

Then shalt in anywise rebuke thy neighbor and not suffer sin upon him. Open thy mouth for the dumb, & plead the cause of the poor and needy.

Wo unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by wrong; that useth his neighbor's service without wages, and giveth him not for his work.

Then shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them; for this is the law and the prophets.

THE BIBLE.

SLAVE LAWS.

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